

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MUNICH 01100 161710Z

64

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-07 SP-03 SS-20 RSC-01 CIAE-00

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R 161630Z JUL 74

FM AMCONSUL MUNICH

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5177

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUESSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: CSU CONVENTION

REF: MUNICH 1092 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: CSU HELD CONVENTION JULY 12 AND 13 TO ELECT PARTY OFFICERS AND PREPARE FOR OCTOBER 27 LANDTAG ELECTIONS. AS ANTICIPATED STRAUSS WAS REELECTED CHAIRMAN WITH OVERWHELMING MAJORITY, AS WERE ALL THREE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN. STRAUSS SET TONE OF MEETING WITH HARDHITTING SPEECH IN WHICH SHARP ATTACKS ON SPD AND FDP WERE ACCOMPANIED BY CRITICISM OF CDU FOR NOT BEING SUFFICIENTLY HARD IN ITS OPPOSITION TO COALITION GOVERNMENT. KOHL AND CARSTENS RESPONDED FOR CDU BY TAKING ALMOST EQUALLY HARD-HITTING LINE, TO STRAUSS'S EXPRESSED SATISFACTION. ALONG WITH TRYING TO DRAG CDU TO THE RIGHT, STRAUSS ALSO SOUGHT TO MEND FENCES IN BAVARIA, POINTEDLY PRAISING GOPPEL AND CULTURE MINISTER MAIER, WITH WHOM HE HAD RECENTLY HAD CLASHES, AND MAKING CLEAR HIS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 MUNICH 01100 161710Z

INTENTION TO CONCENTRATE ON NATIONAL SCENE, LEAVING BAVARIA TO

GOPPEL. SPEAKERS WARNED AGAINST COMPLACENCY DURING ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

,
AND PARTY BEGAN ITS GRASS ROOTS CAMPAIGNING NIGHT BEFORE CONVENTION,
WHEN ASSORTED BAVARIAN CABINET MINISTERS MADE THEMSELVES AVAILABLE
TO GENERAL PUBLIC. CONVENTION ENDED WITH GOPPEL AND STRAUSS
ADDRESSING MASS MEETING IN FRONT OF MUNICH RATHAUS, FIRST TIME, AT
LEAST IN RECENT YEARS, CSU HAD HELD SUCH A GATHERING IN SPD MUNICH.
END SUMMARY.

1) IN HIS KEYNOTE SPEECH TO CONVENTION FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS HIT
OUT FORCEFULLY AGAINST SPD/FDP COALITION ON ALL FRONTS, WITH
GREATEST EMPHASIS ON DANGERS OF OSTPOLITIK, SOVIET THREAT,
GOVERNMENT'S SOCIALIST AIMS, AND THREAT BY LEFTISTS WHOM, HE
CHARGED, SCHMIDT SHOWS NO SIGNS OF TRYING TO CURB. HE ELABORATED
THEORY THAT SOVIETS HAVE FOR TIME BEING GIVEN UP TRYING TO
DOMINATE WESTERN EUROPE UNILATERALLY AND ARE SEEKING, PARTICULARLY
IN CSCE, TO ESTABLISH CONDOMINIUM WITH U.S. WHILE EUROPEANS NEED
NOT WORRY ABOUT U.S. INTENTIONS AND SHOULD REMAIN GRATEFUL FOR
U.S. PROTECTION, SUCH A CONDOMINIUM WOULD AT THE LEAST MEAN AN
END TO EUROPEAN UNITY. STRAUSS COMBINED HIS ATTACKS ON SPD/FDP
WITH CRITICISM OF CDU FOR BEING TOO SOFT IN OPPOSITION. IN
PARTICULAR, HE ARGUED, CDU'S INDECISIVENESS CONCERNING EASTERN
TREATIES, ON WHICH THEY SHOULD HAVE VOTED NO INSTEAD OF ABSTAINING,
WAS MAJOR FACTOR IN 1972 ELECTORAL DEFEAT. UNION, HE MAINTAINED,
SHOULD OFFER ALTERNATIVE TO COALITION'S PROGRAM, NOT VARIANT OF IT.
AS FOR PROSPECTS IN BAVARIA, HE WARNED THAT IF UNION FAILED TO
RETURN TO POWER IN BONN WITHIN REASONABLE TIME, THEN CSU WOULD
SOON LOSE CONTROL OF BAVARIAN GOVERNMENT AS WELL. OCTOBER ELECTIONS
IN BAVARIA SHOULD THUS BE SEEN AS PREPARATION FOR 1976. HE
DISMISSED OPPOSITION BY CHARACTERIZING SPD BAVARIAIAN CHAIRMAN
VOGEL AS GASTARBEITER IN BONN WHO HAD FLED FROM JUSO'S IN MUNICH,
AND BY CALLING FDP AN APPENDAGE OF SPD. HE HAD, HE SAID,
APPROACHED FDP THREE TIMES CONCERNING POST ELECTORAL COOPERATION
BUT HAD NEVER RECEIVED AN ANSWER. FDP REMAINS COMMITTED IN
ADVANCE TO COALITION WITH SPD, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER ELECTION
RESULTS JUSTIFY SUCH A COALITION, AND VOTE FOR FDP IS THEREFORE
VOTE FOR SPD.

2) DELEGATES CHEERED STRAUSS FOR HIS SPEECH AND GAVE THEIR APPROVAL
MORE TANGIBLE FORM THAT AFTERNOON WHEN THEY PREDICTABLY REELECTED
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PAGE 03 MUNICH 01100 161710Z

HIM CSU CHAIRMAN BY 556 VOTES OUT OF 584. THE THREE DEPUTY
CHAIRMEN, WERNER DOLLINGER, MATHILDE BERGHOFER-WEICHNER AND FRANZ
HEUBL WERE REELECTED WITH ALMOST AS IMPRESSIVE MAJORITIES.

3) CDU CHAIRMAN KOHL AND FRAKTION LEADER CARSTENS ADDRESSED
CONVENTION FOLLOWING DAY AND, IMPLICITLY TAKING POSITION
STRAUSS CRITICISMS OF DAY BEFORE HAD BEEN DIRECTED AT PAST CDU
LEADERSHIP, BOTH GAVE SPEECHES ALMOST AS HARD-HITTING AS STRAUSS'S.

STRAUSS AND OTHER CSU SPEAKERS HAD CAREFULLY AVOIDED ANY HINT AT POSSIBILITY OF EXTENDING CSU OUTSIDE OF BAVARIA, BUT THREAT OF THIS CLEARLY UNDERLAY STRAUSS'S CRITICISMS OF CDU. CDU LEADERS TOOK INDIRECT NOTE OF THIS, KOHL STATING THAT AS LONG AS CDU AND CSU WANT TO STAND TOGETHER, NO ONE FROM OUTSIDE COULD SPLIT THEM APART, AND CARSTENS CALLING ON CDU TO HELP CSU IN BAVARIA, AND CSU TO ASSIST CDU IN HESSE AND OTHER NORTHERN LAENDER, FORMULATION WHICH PRESUPPOSES CONTINUATION OF PRESENT GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS OF THE TWO PARTIES. FOLLOWING UP STRAUSS'S ATTACK ON OSTPOLITIK AND LEFTISTS, KOHL HIT AT LEFTISTS IN BOTH SPD AND FDP. CARSTENS CRITICIZED SCHMIDT'S STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT POLICY FOR HAVING NO WORD IN IT ON REUNIFICATION; HE COMPLAINED THE GOVERNMENT HAS CAREFULLY AVOIDED USING THE WORD GERMANY; AND HE HIT AT THOSE WHO COMPLAIN OF VIOLATIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN CHILE AND GREECE, BUT NEVER HAVE A SINGLE WORD TO SAY ABOUT THE ABSENCE OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION, POLAND OR CZECHOSLOVAKIA. STRAUSS EXPRESSED HIS SATISFACTION WITH THEIR SPEECHES AND PROCLAIMED THAT NOW ONE COULD REALLY SAY THAT UNION HAD ALTERNATIVE, AND NOT JUST VARIANT, TO SPD/FDP PROGRAM. LOCAL PRESS DESCRIBED CONVENTION AS ONE IN WHICH CSU SUCCEEDED IN DRAGGING CDU TO THE RIGHT. THIS, HOWEVER, IS BASED ON NOT NECESSARILY VALID ASSUMPTION THAT CSU COLORATION KOHL AND CARSTENS ADOPTED FOR THE OCCASION WILL PERSIST AFTER THEY HAVE LEFT BAVARIA.

4) BOTH KOHL AND CARSTENS SPEECHES WERE VERY WARMLY RECEIVED BY DELEGATES, WITH CARSTENS GETTING SOMEWHAT MORE ENTHUSIASTIC RESPONSE. IT WAS, HOWEVER, CDU GENERAL SECRETARY BIEDENKOPF, WHO DID NOT SPEAK AT CONGRESS BUT DID SAY FEW WORDS INFORMALLY AT CSU HOFBRAUEHAUS CELEBRATION, WHO WAS GIVEN GREATEST OVATION BY CSU DELEGATES.

5) STAUSS ENGAGED IN SEVERAL FENCE-MENDING EXERCISES DURING CONVENTION, SO THAT PARTY COULD ENTER ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN UNIFIED. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 MUNICH 01100 161710Z

HE COMBINED EMPHASIS ON HIS INTENTION TO DEVOTE HIMSELF TO NATIONAL RATHER THAN BAVARIAN POLITICS WITH EXPLICIT PRAISE FOR MINISTER-PRESIDENT GOPPEL, THEREBY REAFFIRMING DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN HIMSELF AND GOPPEL. STRAUSS ALSO WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO PAY TRIBUTE TO CULTURE MINISTER MAIER, WITH WHOM HE HAD RECENTLY FEUDED OVER AN APPOINTMENT IN THE CULTURE MINISTRY (SEE MUNICH A-44). MAIER, INCIDENTALLY, WAS GIVEN THE MOST APPLAUSE WHEN CABINET MINISTERS WERE INTRODUCED.

6) THERE WAS AN EFFORT MADE AT CONVENTION TO AVOID COMPLACENCY. SECRETARY GENERAL TANDLER WARNED THAT DELEGATES SHOULD NOT TAKE TOO SERIOUSLY POLLS PREDICTING GREAT CSU GAINS, AND STRAUSS ECHOED THIS ON TV AFTER CONVENTION. TANDLER INSISTED PARTY WOULD HAVE TO WORK HARD FOR VICTORY IN OCTOBER, AND HE URGED FOLLOWUP OF PEDESTRIAN ZONE EFFORTS (SEE BELOW).

7) IN ADDITION TO CONVENTION ACTIVITY PER SE, CSU OPENED ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN ON GRASS ROOTS LEVEL AS WELL. PARTY LEADERS AND BAVARIAN MINISTERS HAD, EVENING BEFORE CONVENTION, TAKEN TO MUNICH STREETS, WITH SEVERAL IN DOWNTOWN PEDESTRIAN ZONE, TO MAKE THEMSELVES AVAILABLE TO ELECTORATE AND DISCUSS WHATEVER ISSUES PEOPLE WANTED TO RAISE. EXERCISE DREW LARGE NUMBERS OF PUBLIC AND WAS CONSIDERED SUCCESS BY PARTY. PARTY ALSO HELD MASS MEETING EVENING OF JULY 13 IN FRONT OF RATHAUS, AND THIS TOO WAS QUITE SUCCESSFUL. SOME 8,000 CROWDED INTO SQUARE TO HEAR GOPPEL AND STRAUSS SPEAK AND MAJORITY WAS CLEARLY FAVORABLE TO CSU. COMMUNISTS WITH BANNERS ATTEMPTED TO SHOUT DOWN SPEAKERS BUT WERE UNABLE TO COMPETE WITH EXCELLENT AMPLIFIERS CSU USED, AND THEY EVENTUALLY QUIETED DOWN. THIS WAS FIRST SUCH MASS MEETING CSU HAS HELD IN MUNICH, AT LEAST IN RECENT YEARS, AND FACT THEY PULLED IT OFF SO SUCCESSFULLY IN FRONT OF SPD RATHAUS MUST HAVE BEEN SOURCE OF CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION TO PARTY.

8) ROLE PLAYED BY RUSSIAN EMIGRE WRITER VLADIMIR MAKSIMOV AT CONVENTION WAS REPORTED IN REFTEL. SPIVACK

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